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Coola throw pieces of it and eagle down on the water.

424 779 825 Before leaving the subject of supernatural animals, a word must be said concerning the attitude of the Bella Coola to those in whose forms their first ancestors came to earth. If, for example, a man's first ancestor descended as a raven, this knowledge is a valuable possession of himself and his family. [559] Indeed, the most treasured possessions of a Bella Coola are not the material objects collected by him through life, but the intangible rights wrapped up in his ancestral history. These are referred to under four names:

(1) *Smaiaste*, "Preserved Story"; the myth describing the coming to earth of a man's first ancestors in the beginning of time.

(2) *Kxlaltc*, "What Was Sent Down"; the names and other possessions given by *Alquntâm* to a man's first ancestors in the beginning of time.

(3) *Tpâmâl*, "Whence We Came"; the place to which a man's first ancestors came in the beginning of time, and the one from which they have since spread.

(4) *Q̓uathuta*.

Various *smaiaste* are recorded in vol. I, chap. vi, and the second and third terms are really part of the first, although to the Bella Coola they are psychologically distinct. *Q̓uathuta* is the word used for both the birds or animals chosen as cloaks by the first settlers, and also for creatures with which the early people came in contact. The nearest interpretation appears to be, "Crest." When a Bella Coola whose first ancestor came to earth as a raven portrays that bird, it serves as a visible mark of his intangible possession. In former days, if a man carved on stone so that his work and his name would never be forgotten, it was a *q̓uathuâam*, a constant reminder of his greatness to generations then unborn. A *q̓uathuta*, therefore, combines the concept of *memorial* with that of *crest*, so that Bella Coola speak of the white man's memorials as *q̓uathuta*. In brief, a man regards the form assumed by his ancestor when coming to this earth as an emblem of the

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ancient history and fame of his family. It is a matter connected with the past, a matter of the mind, a source of pride to him to have such a possession, but a matter that does not affect his daily life.

So far as could be learnt, the Bella Coola crests consist of the following birds and animals: raven, bald eagle, grizzly bear, black bear, wolf, whale, blackfish, merganser, loon, *sḥ̓ámtsk*, possibly deer, and the mythical double-headed snake, *nsiatl*. To these must be added the sun, because some of the original people came to earth in human form by sliding down his eye-lashes, the sun-beams; and *nuhwikta*, the posts which stretched from earth to the land above, down which a number of the first ancestors of mankind swarmed in human form. The Bella Coola believe that these posts are particularly common memorials among the tribes of the outer coast. According to some accounts it was these posts which supported the first sky until it fell.

A crest is connected almost exclusively with the distant past. A Bella Coola whose ancestor came to earth as a raven pays no attention to the ravens of the present time. The matter was approached from every possible angle and not the slightest sign of respect toward living specimens of a man's crest could be noticed. A query as to whether or not a man refrained from eating his crest was regarded as highly humorous. Nor is there any trace of fellowship between unrelated families even if they happen to have the same crest. The subject was broached repeatedly, until at last one informant smiled broadly and said:

"I know now what you want to find out, I can tell you all about it."

He recounted how the Kitkatla are, in his opinion, stupid enough to regard as brothers all those who have the same animal story even if they are members of different tribes. He said that when he was a young man at Victoria, where Indians from all parts of the coast used to meet, a Kitkatla had once asked him what was his animal. He was puzzled, but as the

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424 nearest answer to the question replied that his *crest* was the
979 Raven. The Kitkatla was a Raven man, too, and to the
narrator's surprise, treated him as a brother for the rest of his
825 stay in Victoria. He shook with laughter as he recalled the experience, and added that though he was quite willing to accept favours of this kind he would never dream of returning them. It can be stated unhesitatingly that the Bella Coola have no totemic beliefs concerning their crests. There is not
[582] the slightest trace of respect towards the animal, nor yet of exogamy.

●211 Although crests are not objects of religious veneration, yet
424 they have some importance in the realm of social life. The
773 portrayal of one serves to indicate ownership of an ancestral
825 myth describing that particular bird or animal. A wealthy chief is proud to display his crest on a totem-pole, or as a painting on the front wall of his house. Anyone seeing such a
[532] design is impressed with the glories of the family history of
[556] the owner, to the latter's gratification. A living specimen of
[304] the bird or animal is treated with no respect, but its delineation is a memento of family history. For that reason a man is often tattooed* with his crest, that derived from his father's first ancestor on the right breast, that from his mother, on the left; and the owner of a canoe often carves his crest on its bow. After the death of a chief a memorial-post is erected near his grave, decorated with a painting or carving of one or more crests to remind observers not only of the deceased, but of his
000 family history, his most treasured possession. It is said, half

[171] [184] *It is said that tattooing was formerly customary not only among all the coastal tribes but also the Carriers. Both Bella Coola men and women decorated themselves in this way, but the custom was not universal, and is said never to have been common. It is believed that Haida chiefs tattooed themselves in connection with puberty rites; in Bella Coola this was not the case although the operation was performed within the back-room of the patient's house. Two methods were employed. The first was by puncturing the skin with a needle smeared with colouring material; the second and less common, by passing a string coated with the substance beneath the skin. The dye was obtained from river stones which were baked for a long time and then ground into a powder. This keeps indefinitely and can be made ready for use by mixing with water. As far as could be learnt, any skilled craftsman might perform the operation.
[386]

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pose should remain continent for several nights to increase his generative powers. He then selects a time for beginning the rite and on the second and fourth nights from that date sleeps with his wife, holding intercourse repeatedly and vigorously until he is utterly exhausted. Before dawn on the third and fifth days he must wash in the river or in some quiet stream. Then follow four nights of restraint, a further intercourse, and washing before dawn. The period is next increased to eight nights, then twelve, and finally sixteen, each with a similar contact and bathing. The nights of abstinence are thus forty in all, a lucky number. An unmarried man can obtain power in the same manner with the assistance of a female friend; it is the act itself that is vital, not the union of husband and wife.

At the present time, only two Bella Coola are said to know this particular type of ceremonial chastity, which they conceal carefully, even refusing offers to buy their knowledge. It is potent at any time, but especially if the periods of continence have been so arranged that they terminate at one of the solstices. Then, indeed, can a hunter set off with every prospect of success, knowing that the human taint disliked by animals has been removed, and been replaced by a ceremonial cleanliness pleasing to them. If the time terminates at the winter solstice, the hunter should set out immediately; if it ends in June, he must remain away from women after his final intercourse. In September or October, when ready to leave for the hunt, he must sleep beside his wife for the last four nights; each night he must place his leg between hers, and each morning the two must wash together. The best fortune of all is obtained by a man who observes this forty-night period for four successive years.

Another, and more common, count[24] is to observe continence for four nights, followed by intercourse. Immediately afterwards, the man should eat as much devil's club[25] as pos-

[24]The record of nights is kept by notches cut in a stick or by knots on a cord.
[25]Or false bellebore. This latter plant is thought to be so poisonous that the eating of even a twig an inch in length is fatal; a very small amount, however, all that is ever taken, acts as a powerful emetic.

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in dances. In front of most houses rises a short totem-pole,[1] [211] either pierced for the doorway, or standing on the opposite [778] side of the sidewalk.

The Family

It is probably no exaggeration to say that in every part of 594 the world the most important social unit is the family. It certainly is among the Bella Coola, yet its lack of definite social obligations makes it difficult to define. Reduced to minimum size, the family consists of a man, his wife, or wives, and his children. Such a unit occupies one of the bedrooms of a large [851] house, and it is to such a family that an infant automatically belongs at birth. Disregarding for the moment ceremonial obligations, which are shared by others, it is the father and mother who are responsible largely for the upbringing of the child. Such education as he receives comes from them, with 594 the assistance of members of the ancestral family. This is 868 chiefly imitative; a boy, as he increases in strength, follows his father on hunting expeditions or fishing. The mother teaches her daughters how to make baskets, and they follow her when she gathers berries, or when she cooks and performs household duties. The Bella Coola are fond of children, in 855 many cases to the extent of over-indulging them, and they 861 grow up amid the open life of the large houses, absorbing information of all kinds without being aware of so doing.

Only two kinds of functional training need be mentioned. 594 A wise father carefully trains his sons to remember their debts 869 (I, p. 369), and the method of teaching ancient myths has already been described; otherwise there is little direct instruction. On the other hand, parents devote great care to furnishing their children with every possible means of strengthening their supernatural elements on which success depends. These can

[1] Since the Bella Coola believe that totem-poles were used by their ancestors in early times, they are included in this description of a village, without reference to their development in post-European times. This account is compiled from descriptions given by elderly informants; it is inevitable, therefore, that changes due to European contact may be included. [177]

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622 there is such dread of the supernatural powers possessed by
623 members of the *kusiut* society that none would dare go there.
778 If an uninitiated person should do so, he would formerly have
been either killed or initiated into the society. The meeting-
[575] place of the *Q̓omqo·ts* chiefs is on a ledge of rock jutting out
over a waterfall about a quarter of a mile from the village.
The stream winds down a narrow cleft of the mountain side,
screened by dense vegetation, and suddenly falls into a cauldron, so hemmed in by cliffs that no sunlight can enter. The
ledge is immediately above the brink of the falls, one of the
most awe-inspiring places imaginable. The meeting-places of
other villages lack such natural settings, though all are at the
bases of cliffs, or near some easily distinguished feature. Some
178 of them are decorated with rude carvings, pecked into the
532 stone. The meaning of the designs is not known to any of
778 the present inhabitants. Some of them were made, long ago,
by chiefs when they were composing tunes; they picked out
the rock in time to the music forming in their minds. Others
[211] were mere memorials of certain events. If a chief gave an
important ceremony, he, or one of his friends, carved a figure,
perhaps that of a man, perhaps of some animal connected with
the rite, to recall the occasion. No carvings have been made
within the life-time of any Bella Coola, so it is probable that
they had further significance, now unknown.

622 When a chief wishes to summon his fellows for a meeting
623 he visits each and notifies him by a simple pressure of the foot,
in many cases unobserved even by those sitting near. The
201 person so called slips away, unostentatiously, to the meeting-
place.

578 The position of chief was not without disadvantages in the
622 old days. The Bella Coola are so jealous that anyone who
682 succeeded in elevating himself to a position above his fellows
became an object of envy. Their mythology contains many
[152] examples of the murder of some powerful chief by rivals of his
own village, and informants of today state that these records
are true. One intelligent man asserted that his father had

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which X has amassed. These have been collected in boxes near the fire where he, aided by members of his family, is constantly poring over the question of their proper distribution. One or two fluent chiefs have been chosen by X to act as speakers, and, as he tells them which gift is to be given to which man, the speaker holds up the article in question and announces the name of the recipient. It is also proclaimed from whom, and for what reason X has received each assortment of goods, thereby making known the names of those who have contributed. In this way a man is glorified who has repaid with large interest a debt owing to X. In the case of skins or rolls of cloth, the goods about to be given out are held outspread by several people at their full length, prior to being torn into strips. Each beneficiary accepts what is coming to him from the hands of the young men who act as deliverers without displaying either gratitude or disgust, whether or not the present comes up to his expectations. The point of view is that the matter concerns X alone; on his generosity depends his status in the community.

The first gifts distributed are actually payments, though never referred to as such. The Bella Coola consider that X is under obligations to those who have helped him prepare for the potlatch and that he is discharging these obligations by presents. The carpenters who have made the new house, the totem-pole, and other objects used in the rites, must be rewarded, likewise the singers who have composed the songs, the messengers, the women wailers, the masked dancers, the announcers who even now are distributing the goods, the boys helping with the cooking, the guests who make speeches—one and all have to be compensated. It is an anxious time for X, as he must not overlook any of these functionaries. Paper and pencil are now used to assist the memory, but long ago the only aids were bundles of sticks. No system of symbolism was evolved, each man merely chose a stick and designated it in his mind as a reminder to pay such or such an individual. The

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Totem-Poles

A feature embodied in many ancestral myths is a description of the totem-pole[1] erected by a group of the first people, either according to a design given them by *Älquntäm*, or in consequence of their experiences on this earth. It is the privilege of a chief descended from that group to erect such a pole, under the same restrictions as apply to the portrayal and use of other features belonging, not to him individually, but to the ancestral family as a whole. Totem-poles are also frequently erected to depict incidents connected with the ancestors of a chief, even if there is no mention of one in his ancestral myth. In either case, the setting-up is a source of pride to the chief; especially as it emphasizes the importance of his ancestors, and its display must be duly validated. Theoretically, this may be done at a gathering of less importance than a potlatch, but in practice it occurs at no other ceremony, since a chief wealthy enough to erect a pole naturally desires it to be seen by as many persons as possible.

Poverty limits the number of totem-poles, but is not sufficient to account for their relative rarity. It is a matter of pride for a chief in whose ancestral myth there is mention of a pole to erect one, but all myths do not include totem-poles. Consequently the absence of one before the door of the chief's house is not proof of the owner's poverty or lack of importance. This matter was investigated with great care, and all the older people reiterated that the number and size of their poles were never as great as among the northern tribes.

When a chief is preparing for a potlatch, he allots, among other carpentry tasks, the construction of a totem-pole, if he is sufficiently wealthy to reward the artisan and to validate the erection in the customary manner. If a special design is embodied in the ancestral myth containing the name which he is about to assume, or to make strong, he indicates that design to the carpenter. In the story of *Älkwi* (I, p. 312), for

[1] *Ałaiałał*, "Outside Post."

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211 556 778 532 example, there is a description of his totem-pole with a ball at the top, and beneath it an eagle's nest containing two fledglings towards which a grizzly bear is endeavouring to climb. This is the only known instance of a pole on which the different figures stand in definite relationship to one another. No explanation is offered beyond the statement that this was the form used by *Ălkwi* in the beginning of time. Another ancient [773] pole, used by one of the ancestral families of *Sunxl*, consists of a simple shaft surmounted by a sphere; this represents a mountain which enters into their ancestral myth as supporting the sky.

As with all features embodied in ancestral myths, a chief can use his own discretion in cases where he has a choice of [431] design. A totem-pole with specific figures is a common pre- [622] sent from a chief to his son-in-law, and it is a mark of respect [606] for the latter to use and validate this at the first opportunity, in preference to one belonging to his own ancestral family. Since the pole erected at a potlatch may have no association with the ancestral name and myth of the donor, the underlying principle in all cases is that the value of the pole depends upon the quantity of gifts distributed to validate its erection. One man mentioned an instance in which he had become confused with regard to the proper design for the totem-pole connected with his ancestral myth, and had used one belonging to a second myth in association with a name from the first. Both were his property, the transaction was duly validated, and the matter passed off without question. It is possible that the [183] decay of custom which has followed the coming of the white man may have been partly responsible for this error, which was regarded as a somewhat stupid, though not improper mistake; yet it is clear that even when designs are remembered as portions of ancestral myths, they can be alienated from them and validated as isolated objects in the same manner as names and all other features of ancestral myths.

More often, the exact details of a pole are not included in the ancestral myth and a chief wishing to have one erected can

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use his own discretion as to the design. At the top he always places the bird or animal cloak in which his first ancestor, traced patrilineally, came to this earth. Beneath this is the cloak of his mother's first ancestor if it differs from his father's. There are no fixed rules for other representations. Sometimes a man wishes to display the cloaks of the first ancestors of his wife, or wives; more often, the designs are of creatures with which his own ancestors came in contact after reaching this earth.[4] One of the first settlers, *Smaoan* (I, p. 332), married a Bella Bella woman from whom he obtained a ceremony connected with a whale, an animal which has often been used on the totem-poles of his descendants. The lower figures on totem-poles often represent creatures from which a recent ancestor of the chief obtained supernatural assistance. Consequently, the number of designs which may be used is legion, and the order of portrayal is immaterial. Moreover, Bella Coola art is not sufficiently realistic for designs to be easily recognized, nor is there standard conventionalization of little used animals; so it follows that the designs on totem-poles are often unidentifiable.[5] This is of little consequence, since their value rests neither upon the artistic skill exhibited, nor even upon their significance in connection with the owner's ancestral myth, but upon the goods expended to validate the display.

All Bella Coola totem-poles are carved from the trunks of huge cedars, with the wood cut away so that the designs stand out in high relief. The carvers are allowed great latitude both in choice of form and colouring, hence there is wide variation

[4] *Ăindzumlaix* is the term applied to animals with which ancestors came in contact, other than their cloaks.

[5] This statement represents the layman's point of view, that is, of the Bella Coola who was not himself a carpenter-sculptor. It is probable that an expert would have greater facility in recognizing the conventionalized forms used by his associates, although the whole pattern of Bella Coola culture was opposed to extreme standardization. Unfortunately, wood-carving, in fact art work of every kind, had degenerated to such an extent that only one man with any recognized skill in that respect was still living when this study was made. He was both unreliable and uncooperative, so that it was impossible even to collect examples of his work, still less to record his interpretations of the designs of masks or other objects carved by his predecessors.

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211 in the appearance of the poles. Sometimes one is erected at
*556 the front door of the house with an opening at its base through
778 which all must pass to enter the house, or a pole may be solid
532 and stand on the opposite side of the sidewalk; the choice in
[184] either case depending upon the usage recorded in the ancestral myth. Instead of a totem-pole, a chief may display his ancestral cloaks by means of paintings on the front wall of his house, or by carved house-posts supporting the longitudinal beams, if such had been used by his ancestors. Moreover, a chief entitled to display a totem-pole may choose to use only paintings. If he validates these by presents, they give him the same dignity and importance as a totem-pole, particularly if he cannot validate its construction by lavish gifts. Most Bella Coola poles are only about fifteen to twenty feet in height, and though
[171] it is possible that a few families had prerogatives entitling them to construct lofty poles, such as used by the Haida, it is unlikely that such were ever common.

When a chief who has erected a totem-pole before his house gives another potlatch, he may wish to put up a second pole beside the first. Occasionally two or three poles stand before the house of a chief, but one is more frequent or even none at
[764] all. At death the pole is often taken to the cemetery where it acts as a memorial-post (I, p. 461). Otherwise it remains standing until some other occupant of the house wishes to erect another in its place, when the first is pulled down and neglected.

Coppers

*556 The Bella Coola use coppers for only two purposes: casting
[769] on the ground upon which the representation of a deceased relative had trodden, or throwing into the fire when the figure has left the house. In either case, they are said to "make bone for the dead." Although used but rarely, the occasion when a copper is employed is so important that to obtain one and increase its value is a vital consideration for every chief.

[177] Most of the coppers now used by the Bella Coola are made
[439]

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435 immediately before, or during the early stages of a potlatch, in
*556 order to receive goods immediately, but with the proviso that
[432] it shall be returned to him for throwing into the fire. This
[426] method has the advantage of providing the chief with goods when required, and doubles the worth of the copper.

Coppers are not always rescued from the ashes and given to poor men. If one is still lying in the fire after several days,
[764] the donor of the potlatch removes it and fastens it to the memorial-post over the grave of his deceased relative. It may be left there, or another chief wanting a copper may buy it from the donor and increase its value in the usual manner. Only a small price is paid in such circumstances, since the copper, having served its purpose, is practically valueless.

177 The Bella Coola state that in ancient times coppers were
435 worth less than at present, and that the change in sentiment
*556 regarding them is due to Kwakiutl influence. All agree that the value placed upon them at Fort Rupert and Alert Bay is greater than elsewhere on the coast. The Bella Coola believe that the Kwakiutl distribute presents in respect to their coppers and that their values mount to enormous sums when the gifts are returned. It is clear that the importance of coppers, like the potlatch and other elements of culture, has increased in recent years through the influence of the coastal tribes.

*556 It is almost impossible to define coppers in the nomenclature of economic theory. They are not mere articles of barter, since they have no practical use outside the ceremonies of chiefs. Nor are they standardized units of trade or cur-
[436] rency, since each differs not only from all other coppers, but also at different periods. In a sense they serve as tokens of
[211] what has been expended; representations of them may be
[532] carved and painted on totem-poles where they serve as marks of the goods which the chief has given away, but this is only
[426] a minor consideration. A copper can perhaps best be described
[435] as an investment which can be applied only to one purpose, "the making of bone for a deceased" person. It grows more valuable at every transmission in accordance with the goods ex-

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three times, and three mountain goats appeared, dead, on the ground before him. He took the fat from the stomach of a yearling and carried it to his father, who had settled some distance away, as proof that he had had success in his hunting; then returned to the place where he had been abandoned.

Next morning, stick in hand, he went to the edge of the forest where he stood looking away from the site of the settlement, as the supernatural being had instructed him, and prayed to *Mınakais* for houses. After praying he looked around and found four large buildings standing on the spot; on the first sat an eagle, on the second a kingfisher, on the third a gull, and on the fourth an owl. The eagle screamed, as eagles are accustomed to do in the early morning, and at once the house on which it sat was filled with all manner of goods, including boxes containing the large cone-shaped whistles such as are used for *sısaok* ceremonials. During the day the kingfisher rattled, the gull called, the owl hooted; and as each uttered its cry the house on which it sat was filled with all kinds of goods, foods, skins, blankets, and household utensils. With the articles so acquired *Ălkexa* gave a potlatch to which he summoned the people from far and near. The whistles sounded, imitating the voices of the four birds which had sat on the dwellings and through the cries of which they had been filled. The Bella Bella chief, *Wipitpawakŭs*, covered his head with his blanket because he had nothing to equal the display, so *Ălkexa* gave him a whistle with its box. All the guests were witnesses of the transaction, and it was in this way that the *sısaok* ceremonial reached Bella Bella.

Ălkexa lived to a great age, and during his lifetime moved to several places, in each of which he gave potlatches. His last stopping-place was *Suxwlk*, where he held his largest rite, erecting for the purpose a new house with six tiers of seats to hold the audience. It was there that he died.

BC
[556]
[211]

Whenever a descendant of *Ălkexa* gives a potlatch he erects outside his house a totem-pole on which are the four birds that brought good fortune to his ancestor.

AN ORIGIN MYTH OF *Q̇wiyai*[n]

In the beginning four brothers, *Wadkus*, *Hamcs*, *Kălăsdak'*, *'Oqwolikdamut*, and their sister *Tlăkwakila*, came to earth at Sea-lion Island, *Spi'xmunsta*, to the west of Namu. They moved to *Q̇wiyai*, but often returned to their landing-place to hunt sea-lions which they would club

[n] Related by Mrs. Webber.

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poverty-stricken," say the elders. "If you do, you will become like them yourself."

As a boy grows older, his father insists that he wash, pray, and practise other ritual acts likely to win approval from supernatural beings. He is frequently beaten to inure him to hardship. By the time a youth is eleven or twelve years of age he has become fully acquainted with the principles of the potlatch system and a wise parent teaches him to remember debts. Taking his son to some quiet spot in the woods, he makes a small bundle of cedar twigs, for example, and tells him:

"So-and-so at Bella Bella gave you fifteen beaver skins. When you see this bundle you must think of those skins."

Then he takes another bunch, perhaps of spruce twigs, to represent a present from a Rivers Inlet chief. A bundle of nettle fibre may stand for a Kimsquit debt; one ornamented with a tuft of undyed cedar-bark, a gift from a *Tăl·io* chief; a solid piece of alder stem, a local debt; another section of alder stem with a notch in it, another local debt, and so on. The son is expected to listen attentively, and to repeat after his father what each represents. Then the pupil turns his back and the instructor alters the positions of the bundles. His father tells him to look at them and repeat what each signifies. This is repeated time after time until a boy becomes familiar with remembering debts by means of symbols. In later years, if he becomes a chief, he will use this method for bearing his indebtedness in mind. No system of standardized signs has been evolved, each individual merely designates what he wishes by a mark which he alone can recognize.

A child grows up in the community, absorbing information and lore without conscious effort, learning the activities which he will later practise, fearing the supernatural beings that are dreaded by his parents, marvelling at the power of those endowed with supernatural ability, and generally fitting himself for the struggle of life. If his parents are wealthy, he may be fortunate enough to be given a *nuaok* name and to partake in

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PLATE 18

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Memorial figure and personal possessions on a grave

[P 442 (B)]

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PLATE 19

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Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Memorial posts showing crests of the deceased

[p442(c)]

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PLATE 20

Photograph by H. I. Smith *National Museum of Canada*

Memorial figures of whale and loon

[p 142 (D)]

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PLATE 21

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Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Totem-pole serving as a memorial post

[p 442 (E)]

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Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Memorial post with wooden representations of coppers given away by the deceased

[p442(F)]

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PLATE 23

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Memorial post with medial crane and figures representing slaves

[p 442 (G)]

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PLATE 24

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Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Painted sign showing the wealth distributed at a potlatch. The animal figures above represent mountain goats.

[4442 (H)]

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prerogatives connected with the ceremony. The actual recounting of the myths may be done by a fluent speaker on behalf of the bereaved man, and when he has finished speaking, it is proper for several of his peers to make complimentary speeches, lauding the future donor for his intentions. Food is then served and the gathering breaks up.

The preliminaries of a memorial potlatch do not differ from those of an ordinary one. There is the same counting and recounting of goods, the same giving and receiving of presents, the same lending and borrowing. When at last the donor is ready, the heralds call his fellow-villagers to his house for announcement of the arrangements and allotment of the work. As at a potlatch, food is provided on a lavish scale, and there is the same sham-fight with a battering-ram ending in the destruction of part of the house. Then the carpenters receive their instructions; some to make different sections of the new structure, some to paint ancestral designs on the front and back walls, and some to make the various objects required.

The first difference between a memorial and an ordinary potlatch is apparent at this allotment of work. Instead of a totem-pole to record the glories of the donor's ancestry,[22] carpenters are requested to make memorial-posts for the dead relative who is being commemorated. These are erected in the cemetery near the grave and are of three kinds, although it is unusual for all three to be set up for a single chief.

The first consists of a wooden post carved with the design of one or more of the deceased's crests (see Plates 19 and 20). These figures are usually representations of the bird or animal cloaks used by his first ancestors; it is customary to portray the one traced through the father on the right, that traced through the mother on the left. Instead of a cloak, the figure may portray the post down which swarmed his first ancestor in the beginning of time, or Mount *Nusqalst* in human form, wearing a broad-rimmed hat as he did before he turned to

[22] Even the construction of a new house and the painting of new designs is often continued.

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211 stone and served as landing-place for some of the first settlers.
556 In fact, any of the dead person's crests may be used according
764 to the wishes of the chief giving the memorial potlatch. A
769 figure displayed in this way cannot be used as the guise in which the dead relative returns, but as every individual has several crests, inability to use one does not make it difficult to carry out the rite. According to one well-informed old man, when a design has once been used in a cemetery it cannot again be shown by members of the ancestral family, having itself become "dead." Other informants flatly contradicted this statement, and it seems clear that the above is true only with regard to the use of the figure in connection with the return of the deceased. The erection of the figure serves to remind all beholders, especially foreign guests summoned to the memorial potlatch, of the ancestral myth of the deceased. It is, therefore, equivalent to a totem-pole erected during a man's lifetime, in fact, one of these is sometimes moved to the cemetery to serve as a memorial-post (see Plate 21). Instead of placing a representation of the crest in the cemetery, one is sometimes painted on broad boards and placed on some conspicuous promontory where all who pass by will see it and think of the person commemorated.

[778]

The second type of memorial consists of plain poles set upright in the cemetery, one for each major ceremony given by the deceased. Potlatches, memorial potlatches, and *kukusiutek* (II, p. 29) are alone indicated in this way, these being the only ones to which foreign guests are invited. These poles suggest, in a general way, the greatness of the deceased.

[609]

The third type of memorial-post comprises representations of the goods given away by the deceased. These are usually painted on boards attached to a post set up near the grave. On this are pictures of canoes, coppers, slaves, and other valuables distributed at potlatches or memorial potlatches (see Plate 22). Alternatively, there may be a series of small poles, each surmounted by a model canoe manned by miniature human figures, symbolic of a canoe and slaves given away

[532]

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(see Plate 23). So, too, wooden representations of coppers are often affixed to an upright post. Not only men are commemorated in this way, a father often places over his daughter's grave pictures of the goods used to rebuy her from her husband; wooden plaques representing coppers are commonly used for this purpose.[24] Such symbols are usually cut down after a year owing to a vague feeling that it is not proper for them to remain standing too long. The function of this type of memorial is to mark the social status of the dead person as judged by the riches given away by him, or on his behalf, during his life-time. With the introduction of writing, the Bella Coola have been quick to recognize it as an easy means for recording the wealth distributed by a chief. In consequence, signs are often painted and erected, giving in figures a statement of his financial transactions. Another recent introduction has been the tombstone. One of these is often set up with the name of the deceased carved on it to perpetuate his memory, and a representation of his crest to record his ancestral history. Such a memorial combines the functions of the first and third types.

As the carpenters labour at the memorials, other arrangements for the ceremony proceed apace. As at a potlatch, the fellow-villagers of the donor may be invited repeatedly to his house for the performance of *sisaok* dances, but this feature is often omitted, especially if there are no neophytes to be initiated. The mask to be worn by the deceased relative must be prepared in secret; or if several are to be commemorated at the single ceremony, one must be made ready for each. As the time draws near, envoys are dispatched to invite foreign guests if it has been decided to have strangers present. This has been customary for many years, but during the period when no features of the potlatch were allowed at a memorial potlatch, the latter was sometimes carried out in the presence of the donor's fellow-villagers alone. The actual departure of the

[24] The National Museum of Canada, at Ottawa, has specimens of these wooden coppers.

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* 556 769 departed. A few days later the same ritual was carried out again, with a similar lavish distribution of food. This was often done at intervals of two or three days for several weeks, depending on how much food the donor was prepared to use. The amount required was so great that the rite was considered, in some ways, more difficult than a potlatch.

[178] As already mentioned, however, it became customary in the last century to incorporate features of the ordinary potlatch into one of a memorial nature. In such cases the first [533] singing of the mourning songs with display of marks by the professional mourners is as just recorded, but there is no recalling of the guests merely to listen once more to the songs. Instead, the ritual differs but slightly from that of an ordinary potlatch as already described (I, p. 182). An occasion is found to conduct the guests to the memorial-posts erected, and to in- [178] form them of the significance of the designs depicted. This same practice has been continued since the introduction of tombstones, and the meaning of the writing upon them is interpreted. The entry of the deceased in the form of his crest, and the subsequent use of a copper, is the same as already recorded. This is frequently followed by the singing of a *sisaok* mourning [533] song if one of the near relatives owns this prerogative of foreign origin. If so, he walks slowly around the fire in a wide circle, shaking his rattle, and singing, unaccompanied. Most, if not all [177] of these songs, are in the Bella Bella language and the right to [425] use one has in every case been obtained through intermarriage with a member of that tribe. At intervals, heralds call out:

"Listen to the chief's lament."[17]

When presents are distributed to validate the whole ceremony, mention is always made of the different features for which they are given. As at a potlatch, the most important is the return of the dead, but at a memorial potlatch another [211] essential is the display of the memorial-posts. These have been [764] carved, painted, and set up, but are worthless unless validated

[17] There is no reason why this should not take place at a potlatch, but no instance of its performance was noted.

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by presents, and the greater the number of these, the greater the value of the memorial. Nothing need be added concerning this point, or other rites, to the detailed description given in vol. I, chap. IV.

Psychologically, the memorial potlatch is of tremendous importance. There may be a vague feeling that the ritual is of actual assistance to the deceased since grease burnt at it reaches him, and is of service to him, but such a belief is no more than an intangible sentiment of no weight in the lives of the people. Quite otherwise is its effect on the survivors, especially on the donor. A memorial potlatch is considered the fitting tribute of respect to a chief, and if none of his near relatives should hold one, they would brand themselves as unmindful of the fame of their dead kinsman. In recent years the white man's law has prohibited the potlatch, but chiefs have often preferred to go to jail rather than to forgo this form of memorial. The reason for this cannot be explained better than in the words of an old man whose only daughter, a "Chieftainess," died in 1922. He determined to hold a memorial potlatch and expressed himself to the writer, as follows:

"If I should fail to do what is right under the circumstances, to do what my ancestors would have done, my heart would be dead, dead as my daughter. But if I call the people, if we sing mourning songs for my child, I will be able to bear my grief. I shall have done what is right, and will be able to hold up my head with anyone, knowing that the rites have been performed for my child which are due her as a chief. If I allow her to be neglected, I would be ashamed and miserable. Jim [another "chief"] warned me when I first told him of my intention that the law forbade such ceremonies. I cannot help that. If I am sent to jail, to jail shall I go. I would rather have that happen than that my daughter should not receive fitting treatment as a chief."

In this case, though only abbreviated rites were carried out, their performance unquestionably lessened the father's grief, a fact observed on several occasions. Not only does it comfort

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[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

be slaughtered before one is found with skin to match.[47] The marshals carefully supervise all these arrangements, but of course on this night the work alone is allotted. The entrails of several dogs are kept and worn by X between his false stomach and the wooden frame.

After the allotment of tasks in connection with the mechanical work required, the marshals ask four women to come forward. Those selected are usually old people with good voices who, from long experience at the dances, have mastered the two[48] songs used at each *kusiotem* dance. The theme of these never varies and is believed to have been handed down from the distant past. No prerogative is attached; the marshals and singers merely choose four women whom they think will be good performers. The songs resemble those sung at mourning ceremonies; in fact, they are used with that significance when X has been "killed" by disembowelling. The singers, the women chosen, the marshals, and any other *kukusiut* who feel competent to do so, discuss in an animated manner the exact wording and tunes of the songs. Then the musicians beat out the time and the women sing one after another, while the audience drones. In view of the solemnity of the occasion, it often happens that senior singers from adjacent villages are invited to be present to render assistance. The necessity for practising X's songs, apportioning the carpentry, and rehearsing the mourning songs has taken up more time than is usual on a *nusiutälsap* night, and it is late before all is completed. Then, after the usual meal and admonishments, the people disperse.

Early the following morning the carpenters and those to whom work has been allotted gather early in X's house. A band, about two feet long, composed of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark is prepared and placed on the

[47] Informants offered no explanation as to why this wholesale slaughter of dogs failed to arouse curiosity and suspicion in the uninitiated.

[48] Or four; there was difference of opinion among Bella Coola informants on this point.

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*575 *796 [217] outside of the house above the central doorway. The middle of the strip is pressed together so that it forms a projecting point, some four inches in length. This sign is a warning to the uninitiated that the *kukusiut* are working within, and none but a member of the society must enter or even pass on the sidewalk outside the door.[69] The central fire is moved forward to leave a larger space than usual between it and the back-room, and two mattings are raised to form two enclosures, one in each of the rear corners.

All day the carpenters work feverishly, and in the evening the *kukusiut* are once again summoned. When last performed, the rite on *qothm* was curtailed, and informants could give only an outline of the proper procedure. It appears that X's two [533] songs are practised, as well as the two mourning songs sung by the chosen women. Then all sit silent as if in grief, while the women occasionally utter mournful ejaculations, dreading the danger to which X will be exposed. At this juncture the uninitiated are summoned; they are impressed by the gravity and obvious fears shown even by the members of the powerful *kusiut* society. In the tense silence, one of the *änuyex* suddenly bursts forth:

"I will get my puppet-patron and bring him near so that he will be available tomorrow."

He reaches up his arms and makes the motions of drawing something towards him from above, while the *kukusiut* women drone and the singers and others provided with sticks keep up a clamorous beating on the floor. Presently another *änuyex* does likewise, and so on until as many as wish to do so have drawn down their puppet-patrons. The heralds maintain a running fire of comments to aid in impressing non-members. The customary lengthy dancing of *qothm* is omitted, and the uninitiated are expelled at once. The *kukusiut* have the usual

[532] [69] If it is necessary to make numerous puppets this band may be placed in position the previous evening and the carpenters start work a day earlier on the more important tasks.

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mixmixɬulp: Leaf of salalberry.
mla·wadjut: 1—Omen of misfortune, such as preceded the outbreak of smallpox, hence, [824] [787]
2—Smallpox.
mlka: Type of sea-going canoe with raised prow and small stern.
mna, vocative, mnae: Child. [601]
Mnakais: Supreme god when addressed in prayer.
mnk': Excreta.
mnmnts, vocative, mnmnicān·i: Ancestral family, practically equivalent to *children* when used by an old person. [614]
mnskanmaxta: The commemoration of a chief's potlatches and other major ceremonies by means of plain posts erected near his grave. [211]
Mntlato·smm, Tide-Measurer: A supernatural being. [764]
Mstslos: Man mentioned in a song.
Mtlakila: Supernatural being who gives potency to *sisaok* rites.
mtlststa: Grandiloquent expression used by the *kukusiut* with reference to the way in which supernatural beings govern the length of human lives. [776]*
mtlalasam: 1—The condition of being within range of speech and vision. The term is used to describe relations formerly existing between the dead and the living. [775]
2—To visit, term used with reference to the coming of a masked representation of a dead person; the significance is similar to that expressed in the first meaning.
mok': Pounded, dyed cedar-bark used to decorate ceremonial objects.
mokwaks: Head-ring of cedar-bark worn by *kusiut* initiates in the upper Bella Coola valley.
moqla: Lice. [825]
moqwila: Adolescent youth.
moxmoxk': Blue grouse.
moxmoxliokkanda: Dentalium-shell ear-rings worn by adolescent girls during seclusion. [301]
mu: Hand net for catching olachen. [227]
mudcamkusta: Yellow cedar stave decorated with swan feathers such as is carried by a Mystery dancer.
mustmux: Wrestling.
Mutan·a: Rivers Inlet man living in the last century.

N

Nain'akwas: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Na'mu: Bella Bella village; the Anglicized form is Namu.
nan·: Grizzly bear. [825]
Nanantlis: Name received from Grizzly Bear by a Kimsquit man in the beginning of time.
Nanāl: *Kusiut* name of a *Nuɬalst* man.
Nanatskwi: One of the first men to settle at *Stmx* in the beginning of time.
Nanalkwitl: One of the names of Mount *Nuɬalst* as chief.
nan·imut: Non-ceremonial weeping, usually individual, and always with real feeling. [827]
Naos: Indeterminate locality in the distant east. [15.2]

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gunta, "Bed Covering": Term applied to the presents given as such to the party of a bridegroom when they enter the bride's house on a wedding day. [525] [431]

ḥḥamḥat, "A Shaking of the Fingers": Rhetorical allusion to presents regarded as "Dust." [195]

ḥpaulshmam: To revolve sunwise.

Ḥpaupaulitsmulaix, "The One Who Revolves Sunwise to Give Strength": One of *Tlitsplitsa-a's* names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Ḥpulxlx: Place of petrified power near Kwatna. [778]

Ḥsmun: Village on the Skeena River.

ḥsulsut: Supernatural creature resembling a diminutive human being. [825]

ḥukst: Salmon liver.

ḥuks: Co-wife in a polygynous household. [595]

ḥulmus, vocative, ḥulmuix: Wife's brother, or sister's husband, man speaking.

ḥulxmaix: Gathering of the supernatural beings for the performance of dances in the land above. [601]

ḥuma: Unidentified salt water fish, said to be called "Lard-fish" by white men. [825]

Ḥunqumun ut di dā Sqem, "The Unlooser of Light": One of Raven's names as chief.

ḥupstāmm: 1—The ability of a chief to sit down ceremonially in virtue of the goods distributed for his seat, the ground over which he walks, and other requirements.
2—The initial establishment of a youth as chief.

ḥuputsālets: Stone axe. [412]

ḥus: Period of engagement.

Ḥuskila: Ḥuqa-ts man.

Ḥusi-lilx: 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—*Kustut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Ḥusiustumlaix: Stuix man mentioned in an ancient story.

Ḥusixsta-i: Shaman's name of a *Stuix* woman.

Ḥusixwus, "Begrimed": Name of a copper often cast into fire.

ḥualts: Unidentified (and probably mythical) type of lizard, allegedly about four feet long, found near Dean Channel. [825]

ḥualus, vocative, ḥualux; plural, dḥualtsu: Eldest brother or sister. [601]

Ḥua'lums: Name, in the Bella Bella language, given to a wooden woman made by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

ḥualtlx: Gull. [825]

ḥual'mo'hs, "Eldest": Term of respectful address to Porcupine as senior of all animals.

Ḥualxmalelim, "The Mover": Name given to their house by one of the first groups of settlers at *Tlā-io* in the beginning of time.

Ḥualxa: Term from which the Anglicised "Kwatna" is derived: Generic name for the villages at Kwatna Harbour, Burke Channel. [103] *

Ḥuamaut'hs: Chief living on the upper *Tsowut* in the beginning of time.

ḥuaxā-axta: Large box used for boiling olachen. [415]

Ḥuaqa: Village south-west of the head of South Bentinck Arm.

Ḥuaqmaix: Place on Schooner Pass.

Ḥuaqmasila: Stuix name of a Bella Coola man.

ḥualtsalam: Marks made to commemorate an event, such as carvings at chiefs' meeting-place, virtually a *memorial.* [211]

ḥualtsasum: Figure representing crest.

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sḷaxqalikw': Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his commission as carpenter or other artisan in preparation for a potlatch.
Stē·tsxom: A short-legged person who tries to cross a river; name of a string figure.
stcaq": That part of a house on either side of the central fire. [573]
Stcitoma: 1—Sleep, a supernatural being.
2—Sleep, intangible *kusiut* prerogative. [585]
stciusnăm: Presents given to the one who leads a bride to her husband during a wedding. [431]
Ṣtcqwastlustkwi, "Dark-Shade": A supernatural being.
stc·ptl: Shadow. [412]
stetqwma: Hammer, *archaic.*
stekso: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law. [601]
sḷiatmalqs: Shaman's stick with power of life at one end and death at the other.
stilwa: Bloody grease that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.
stiṗ: That on which a chief sits, that is, his ceremonial prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth. [283]
sḷilx: 1—Caribou hide.
2—Thong made of caribou hide. [825]
sḷxom: Chequer-work cedar-bark matting. [285]
sḷlaxkt: Caribou.
sḷhms: Love charm consisting of hair of the one desired mixed with other ingredients. [832]
Sḷhmsila: Supernatural being who causes nightmares. [828]
sḷhmsta or *sḷhmstănalqs:* Mortals, in contradistinction to supernatural beings.
sḷhmstaliktsta: Body.
sḷhmstănalqsam: Assumption of human characteristics by mankind in the beginning of time.
Stixwaxwakniman·a: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
Stixwaxwakanam: Professional female berry-picker. [825]
sḷska: Mountain goat grease. [824]
sḷskalaya: Castor.
Sḷsḷiut, "What Has Been Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Sḷskla: Son of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
sḷsmas: Octopus. [825]
Sḷsoaklxs: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
sḷsquasma: Red rock paint. [386]
sḷsla: Singer's baton.
sḷsulk: Text. [823]
sḷslo·qaxs: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones.
stwin: 1—Memorial-post, decorated with crest, erected near grave. [211]
2—Plain posts erected near grave to indicate major ceremonies performed by the deceased. [764]
Stwx: 1—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
2—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story. [262]
stutsum: Dried dog salmon soaked in water.
stutusaiks: Masked representation of a dead person in crest form.
Sṭq', "Rainwater-Dripping-through-the-Roof": A supernatural being.
sukwulh: Black raspberry. [824]
sulstw: Ocean.